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ABSTRACT

THE ADAPTATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS TO THE URBAN SOCIETY OF DALLAS, TEXAS, IS DISCUSSED BY A BAPTIST MINISTER WHO SPENT 5 MONTHS INFORMALLY STUDYING THE PROBLEM. THE AUTHOR CITES 3 BASIC ADJUSTMENT PATTERNS FOUND TO EXIST. FIRST, THERE ARE THOSE INDIANS WHO DESIRE TO FORGET THEIR PAST VALUES AND DEVOTE ALL ATTENTION TOWARD ACHIEVING SUCCESS BY TOTALLY ADAPTING TO CITY LIFE. SECOND, AND RARELY FOUND, ARE THOSE INDIANS WHO ATTEMPT TO RETAIN THEIR INDIANNESS WHILE STILL LIVING IN THE URBAN AREAS. THIRD, AND MOST PREVALENT, ARE THOSE INDIANS WHO SEEK A BALANCE BETWEEN THE CONCEPTS OF INDIANNESS AND URBAN LIFE. THIS REPORT DISCUSSES THE INDIANS' ADAPTATION PROBLEMS AS THEY RELATE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES, AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. (DB)

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INDIAN AMERICANS IN DALLAS: MIGRATIONS, MISSIONS, AND STYLES OF ADAPTATION

by

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Preface

Mr. James Goodner recently sent us a manuscript prepared after he spent some months living in Dallas, Texas. While Mr. Goodner is not a trained social scientist, the participant approach he utilized gives anthropologists and others not familiar with Dallas Indian social patterns some valuable insights.

Arthur M. Harkins

Richard G. Woods

Author's Foreword

Although I spent most of my youth in Albuquerque, New Mexico, I did not become acquainted with Indians until I was attending the University of New Mexico in 1948. At that time I began serving as a volunteer worker with Rev. Lee M. Roebuck in a Baptist mission center for the Pueblo Indians. I was recalled into the army for the Korean War and never completed my work at the University, but I did get pretty well acquainted with the people of the Rio Grande Puebloes.

In 1952 I moved to Berkeley, California to take my theological training at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary. This school is operated by the Southern Baptist Convention and is now located at Mill Valley, California. I eventually received a Th.B. in 1958.

During this time the BIA expanded its relocation program and a large influx of Indians came into the San Francisco Bay area. Somehow I became involved in conducting vesper services for the Intertribal Friendship House, established by the Friends Service Committee in Oakland Within a few months (about October, 1957), Indians who had met in the Friendship House decided to organize an Indian Baptist congregation and asked me to be their pastor. I accepted and pastored this church until December, 1962. I also aided in organizing and administering another Indian church in San Francisco. The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention employed me as missionary to the Indians of the San Francisco Bay area on January 1, 1957, and although I have changed my place of service several times, I am still under employment by this Board.

Years in the pastorate of the American Indian Baptist Church of Oakland gave me a first-hand experience with the adjustment of the new relocatees to urban living. Although I am non-Indian I was privileged to have some part in that adjustment. Many of the early relocatees are still close friends.

In December, 1962 I transferred to the pastorate of the Indian Southern Baptist Church of Wichita, Kansas. This church was about ten years old at the time, and was composed largely of Oklahoma Indians who had come to Wichita for aircraft industry work during the war. Later, an opening for a missionary developed at Haskell Institute; I accepted the position in November, 1965. Haskell was a very attractive place to me, because I had seen the leadership of Haskell students in the California churches. I served there until December, 1968.

In 1968 the Home Mission Board of my church granted me five months to make a study of recent Haskell graduates, but defined my task as a study of urban Indians and of Indian churches in the city. The change was rather fortunate for me because a study limited to recent graduates would not have been as productive by itself.

I chose Dallas as one of the cities where I would do research for several reasons. First, I had never been to that city and felt that bias would not be so important in my work. In addition, it was a city chosen by many of the Haskell graduates as the place to find their first jobs. I eliminated Oklahoma City because many young people wanted to settle near their homes, and I feared these conditions would not give a typical picture of Indian adaptation into an urban environment.

I prepared for the trip to Dallas by asking all the Indian people I knew for addresses of friends who lived there, but my best source of names was the subscription list of the "Haskell Leader". There were twelve names from this list, some of whom I had known as students at Haskell. I also obtained the names and addresses of three Indian congregations in Dallas and Fort Worth. These included two Baptist and one Methodist church. The list of names was more difficult to use than the list of churches. It was difficult to find the people at home, and when I did interview them they seemed to have little knowledge of other Indians except those who had attended Haskell with them.

At the churches, on the other hand, interviews with Indians were very fruitful. I merely let it be known that I was from Haskell and many people would seek me out to gossip about city events. They told me of knowledgeable people whom I should see, Indian powwow clubs, sports events, other Indian churches, and the like. There appeared to be an active Indian society visible only to one who made the right contact with it.

Several people advised me of the public hearings which were to be held in Dallas. These were held by a subcommittee of the President's Council for Indian Opportunity and were presided over by Mrs. LaDonna Harris. The hearings proved to be a most productive data source: I sat in the courtroom and took notes from a variety of people for hours at a time.

I realize the shortcomings of this type of research. Although I tried to interview every type of Indian person, I did not attempt a fully representative sampling. With the time and resources at my command this would have been impossible. Certainly, no list of Indians in Dallas existed from which a sampling could be drawn. I tended to find the persons who were part of one urban Indian sub-culture and to miss those who were not. Those I missed included (1) Indians who were the most maladjusted to the city, and (2) those who had found their way well into non-Indian society. I tend to think that the latter are few in number.

I did allow Indian people to shape the material in the study; therefore, the society I saw really existed. The people I saw were knowledgeable of urban Indian adaptation styles and eager to talk about them. Nearly all the people I talked to were very concerned about newly arrived young Indian persons. No one had any effective means to suggest for bringing these migrants into their urban life style.

An Emerging Indian Society in Dallas

"I like it here and I want to stay," said a woman from one Southern Plains tribe of Oklahoma. She has lived in Dallas, Texas for eleven years and her family has been raised there. "I don't like to go back to the reservation, it's too dead around there!" said an Indian teenager.

There is now a bona fide urban Indian. He likes the city, counts it as his home, and intends to remain there. This is different from the situation ten to fifteen years ago when there were only Indians who had come to the city very recently. An Indian society has developed in Dallas, and it is a workable society that gives comfort and fulfillment to its members. This does not mean that there are no problems for Indians in Dallas, or that all the Indians who live in Dallas are urbanized. It does mean that a considerable number of Indians who live in the Dallas-Fort Worth area have made the transition and formed an urban sub-society.

For most Indians coming to the city has been a great change. Of the Indian young people who attended Haskell Institute, an Indian trade school in Lawrence, Kansas, during 1968, only five percent lived in cities of over 50,000; another five percent lived in cities between 20,000 and 50,000; nine percent lived in towns between 5,000 and 20,000; twenty-eight percent came from towns of 500 to 5,000; and fifty-three percent came from open country. This means that in order to adjust to the city the Indian has had to acquire a great deal of city "knowhow". When asked how an Indian could learn the ropes of urban life, a Cheyenne

who is now a veteran Dallas policeman, said "I came from a town of about three hundred, and that was when you counted all the dogs and cows. Here you just do like the Romans and you'll make it." For the past ten years Indians have been watching how things were done in Dallas and they have learned a great deal.

In Dallas, as in other cities, the Indian remains an invisible American much more than a vanishing American. Since it is difficult for the average Anglo citizen to identify the physical traits of the Indian, few people even become aware of the presence of the Indian. This causes problems for the urban Indian because his progress cannot be acknowledged by fellow urban dwellers when his very existence is not recognized. In a very real way these first urban Indians are pioneers. It is important to these people and to the Indians who will follow that there be a recognition of their accomplishments.

Three Adjustment Patterns

In coming to the city and in subsequent urbanization, the Indian has faced a fundamental identity problem. Most urban-adjusting Indians want to remain Indian, and yet they also want to make progress in the economy of their nation. This problem had to be solved both by the individual and by the Indian society before there could be any real satisfaction for city-bound Indian migrants. Three possible patterns which Indians have been using may be described here.

First, the person can simply forget that he is Indian and devote all of his attention and effort toward achieving "success" in the city. This is usually the solution that most non-Indians assume will be the only practical one. For some (I have found no way of determining

how many) this is the solution chosen. For most it holds greater problems. Indianness is simply too great a part of their nature to change basic life values and to cut themselves off from persons they hold dear. For example, one of three sisters decided with her Indian husband to change their way of life and to leave behind all Indian contacts. She refused to let her son become a member of the Indian mission, although the family does not attend any other church. The parents joined the country club and made the social contacts of an upper-middle class white family. Their former Indian pastor still feels that someday they will find that they are still Indian. Perhaps many find de-ethnification a successful way of adjustment, but it is difficult to measure when such people drop out of Indian society and become social non-ethnics with Indian blood. Of course thousands claim this distinction without having any of the culture of the Indian. For many others it is a heartbreaking change when they find that they have sacrificed too much for the sake of progress in the economic world.

Since intermarriage is one indication of this type of assimilation it is relevant to look at some statistics from Woods and Harkins in their Indian Americans in Chicago.[1] This is a study of the clients of the St. Augustine Episcopal Indian Center. Within intratribal marriages 29% had drinking problems and with intertribal marriages 19% had drinking problems, but of Indian-non-Indian marriages 53% had drinking problems. Since the last category included only ninety-five couples from one institution it may not be conclusive but it does seem

[1] Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Indian Americans in Chicago, Minneapolis, Minnesota: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, June 1968, p. 16.

to symptomatically indicate the strength of emotional conflict in cross-cultural change.

A second possibility for dealing with conflicts between Indianness and requirements for successful urban adaptation may be offered. The Indian individual may cling to Indianness at all costs and refuse the possibility of adaptive change. Most of the traditionalists who hold this view do not come to Dallas and therefore do not come within the scope of this study. However they do exert an influence on the urban Indian. Many Indian migrants tell of the discouragement received from family and friends when they decided to leave Indian country. In the case of one man who is not a leader in the Dallas-Fort Worth community, the criticism came from his former employer in Oklahoma. Some Indian families in Dallas try to retain their Indianness to such an extent that successful adaptation is made very difficult. Reciprocal customs of generosity and "limited good" practices may be real problems, especially as practiced by the Plains Indians. According to these customs any relative or tribesman has the right to "visit" for as long as he likes, and the host provides for his needs. This aspect of American Indian culture is strictly observed in tribal lands. In the city, where everything must be paid for with the earnings of the breadwinner, reciprocity expectations and demands sometimes wreak havoc on adaptation efforts. Several of my Indian acquaintances have left Dallas because of this situation.

A third adjustment approach for the urban Indian consists in finding a balance between the concepts of Indianness and of urban adaptation. Most of the Indian people I met in Dallas-Fort Worth were

taking this road. It is the most difficult but possibly the most rewarding among the several alternatives. Such persons have probably laid the basic groundwork for a viable urban Indian society on this decision. But problems may exist with the bicultural adjustment approach. For example, consider the pessimistic view of a pastor whose Dallas church is in the area where most young Indians now live: "Indians can't afford to live in the luxury apartments. They are going to be disillusioned because they can't afford the kind of life they had expected when they came to the city. It is not a pretty picture." As a matter of fact the luxury apartments were exactly where I did find the Indian young people, and within a few blocks of this pastor's church! On the part of denominational leaderships I found a real interest and willingness to help Indian churches, but I also found the view that Indians were uniformly a people on the borderline of poverty, unable to cope with the urban situation. Often there were laments over what the white man had done to the Indian, but this always came from whites, never from Indians.

Changes and Conflicts in the Concepts of Indianness

The self concept of Oklahoma Indians has been affected by the judgments of the general population. Rosalie Wax tells me that this is not so true of the more isolated country Sioux, and I am not sure that it is so true of many Navajo. One New Mexico Pueblo Indian told me that in situations where only one Indian worked in an urban place of business he would remain isolated during lunch or coffee breaks and say to himself, "I think I'll quit this job -- these people (his fellow workmen) are too smart for me."

Before real peace of mind in an urban Indian society exists there is a reordering of the Indianness concept. Among many urban Indians

this reordering is taking place. Mr. Robert Beams, Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Dallas states "Most Indians are proud of their race, and that is especially true among the Five Civilized Tribes." In places where being an Indian is a disadvantage it is sometimes different. I was amazed to find that community attitudes toward the Indian were so different in western Oklahoma. The customs of the Plains Indians and some of their moral values were different from those of the white community and they were looked down upon because of this. It is likely, though, that these Indians can be proud of their cultures, and by various means break through such prejudice. It will take a lot of courage and planning to overcome such prejudice.

Group discipline is the most important tactic being used to change the concept of Indianness in Dallas-Fort Worth. The leader of a dance group giving an exhibition in Fort Worth said recently that none of the performers were to drink ("We don't want people thinking that we are just a bunch of drunken Indians"). Powwows are policed carefully to make sure that none will make a bad impression. Employees sometimes feel that success through group controls will open the door for other Indians in the marketplace.

The attitude of the community toward Indians is often a major problem. Brown Otter, a Sioux student, complained of being called "Chief" at school: "I am not a chief, I am an individual. What the Indian needs is social acceptance." Many Indians are having problems with the attitude of people toward the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and of the Bureau toward them. Many uninformed whites and their bureaucratic agencies take the position that the BIA is a social welfare agency

designed to care for all Indian needs whatever they might be. For example, one woman recently complained that "Everywhere we go looking for help they say 'Go to the BIA.' We are just as qualified as other persons to be helped by the local agencies." In reply Mrs. LaDonna Harris said that "This is a misunderstanding of the general population. You are citizens of this community, you don't belong to the BIA." The general feeling that the Indian is different because he is the ward of a federal bureau is very damaging.

But the attitude of the regional Bureau of Indian Affairs office is that the city Indian has no Bureau services due him. To many whites BIA is basically a welfare agency helping a needy population, but to many Indians it is the enabling office for fulfillment of certain treaty agreements won by the exchange of Indian land. Therefore the Indian perception of his rights to the services of the BIA is closely tied to his continued identity as an Indian. Vance Tahmahkera, speaking of the right to send children to BIA schools, stated "You lose your rights when you move from Anadarko. This penalizes the people who took the initiative to help themselves." Mrs. LaDonna Harris replied:

> I know that this is true. People have to lie about their residence by sending their children back to Oklahoma to live with a relative to get an Oklahoma address. The fact that you moved to a city doesn't mean you are not an Indian.

There have been difficulties but many Dallas Indians have succeeded in establishing an urban identity as Indians, and progressive ones at that. One Indian summed it up, "I had to make my own thing happen!" Inter-ethnic problems of adjustment were touched upon by a non-Indian professional photographer in Dallas:

> You Indians have to have the worst public relations in the world. When the Blacks or the Mexican Americans are doing something people can find out about it. You need a spokesman who will say, "We are here and we want a part of the deal."

Developing Urban Pan-Indianness

The urban Indian society in Dallas is largely pan-Indian. By this term I mean that it crosses tribal boundaries and that the concept of Indianness becomes more important than that of tribal affiliation. It must be remembered, however, that urban pan-Indianness does not mean a renunciation of tribal connections or termination of self-identity as a tribal member. Instead it means enlarging the circle of relationships to include other tribes and a growing knowledge of their customs, values, and life-styles. Recently Mrs. Vance Tahmahkera spoke of Fort Worth intertribalism: "It is mostly intertribal here. It isn't that way at home. There you usually stay with your own tribe. Being away from home means we seem to grow closer to each other." Mrs. Tahmahkera is from a Plains tribe. Another lady from one of the Oklahoma Civilized Tribes told me:

> At home we were isolated by tribes and we get along fine. But here we search for each other. My husband drives a bread truck and if he sees an Indian he will go around the block and search him out.

These examples seem to point out one reason for the existence of urban pan-Indianism -- the sense of need felt by many Indian people for interaction with others like themselves. To restrict friendships to persons of one's own tribe would be very difficult. There may also be a positive exploitation of the discovery that other tribal people are not so different from the members of one's own tribe.

Pan-tribalism also gives an opportunity for assistance across tribal lines, a primary concern for the adapting urban Indian. One such helping person who occupies an official role is Mrs. Atone, a home visitor for an extension program of Texas A&M University. Her purpose is to help Indian housewives with nutrition, hygiene, and other home-maintenance skills. On her rounds she visited a young Navajo wife and later said:

> She told me that if I had not been an Indian she would not have let me in. This is in spite of the fact that she is Navajo and I am Kiowa. You should have an Indian person to work with Indians. People feel that you will understand them if you are an Indian.

This sort of pan-tribalism seems to be strengthened in the younger people. I noticed in visiting a recent Haskell graduation that often these students did not remember the tribes of many of their friends, but that these friends were always regarded as Indian. The strongest identification for these students was their common school experience rather than tribal affiliation. This also seems to be true of young Indian people who have been raised in the city. David Benham, pastor of the Fort Worth Baptist Mission, said that thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds born in the city seem to have the attitudes, ambitions, and personality structures of white teenagers.

> When you look closely you see that they aren't white although they seem like all the other kids. They feel this pan-Indianism. They don't fit at school. All of their friends are Indian. They don't have other friends. They are in a turmoil.

Thus a familiar adjustment pattern of urban Indian teenagers found elsewhere exists in Dallas as well. These young people strongly reflect the characteristics of neighborhood non-Indians, but their marginal

social conditions promote strong feelings of identity crisis, poor cultural fit, and other difficulties.

The Processes of Pan-Tribalism

Although pan-tribalism has been recognized by most of those who have observed the urban Indian movement, little has been said about the processes which allow it to take place. Through very limited observation in Dallas-Fort Worth I feel that pan-tribalism is the result of a complex but identifiable learning process. First, the urban Indian learns to tolerate customs which would have been condemned in one's own tribal country. For example, a member of one of the Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma asked me what I thought of the powwow. Instead of answering I drew out his opinion. He stated that a fellow church member (a Plains Indian) let the powwow interfere with his church attendance, but that he was very faithful in tithing. This seemed to me to be an indication of tempering judgment toward a questionable activity out of respect for a friend with a differing background.

Another example is shown through a discussion with Helen Shoemaker, a Choctaw. She was concerned about her association with Navajo girls of her own age. Here the differences between tribal backgrounds would be greater than almost any other combination. At a party where everyone was Navajo except herself the conversation suddenly shifted into the Navajo language. She said, "Wait a minute, you are all speaking Navajo and there are no Choctaws for me to talk to. That isn't fair." Helen says the girls changed to English and that the incident has not occurred again. Helen also said that Oklahoma Indian girls always help clean up after parties but that Navajo girls never thought about it ("They don't think about things I take for granted"). These things were

not told me in a spirit of criticism or superiority but within the context of a need to learn of other Indian ways. One Oklahoma Indian, for example, recently spoke of a Navajo friend who had become part of the Fort Worth Baptist Mission: "She is different. She talks. She is conscious of the activities of the church, and she was the first to give toward the expenses of the Sweetheart banquet." Here the indications of a growing pan-tribalism are communication, awareness, and acceptance of responsibility. These are learned reactions which become an increasing part of response categories, regardless of tribal membership.

Supporting this point of view is the urban Indian practice of telling others "How we do it in our tribe". In this way a good deal of information is shared and a greater appreciation for one another is constructed. Such communicative experiences also open the way to fellowship with other Indians, and sometimes are carried to the extent that some urban Indians become lay scholars of different tribal cultures.

Community Characteristics and the Need for an Indian Center

The pan-tribal culture is different from that of many other ethnic groups in that it does not necessarily have a residential basis. I do not know of many areas in major American cities where most of the populations are Indian, although some areas have a much higher percentage of Indians than others. At first, the Bureau of Indian Affairs located most of the Dallas Indians in a housing project in West Dallas (to be described more fully later). By now most of these families have moved out of the area. At present they are living in Oak Cliff or in East Dallas. The latter residence is largely composed of new arrivals and unwed or newly-married families. But scattered throughout Dallas-Fort

Worth and suburbs are individual families who are very much a part of the Indian community. In fact many of the Dallas-Fort Worth leaders come from the suburbs. This scattered residence makes problems for the gathering of the community. I do not know of other communities in the city which fail to concentrate their residence and yet maintain such close functional identity. In my opinion, the rural background of the Indian, his habit of traveling great distances to meetings, and his style of extended family gatherings have been carried over into the urban area where he continues to show willingness to travel considerable distances to congregate.

Without large common residential centers Indian meeting points consist largely of churches, Indian clubs, and sporting clubs. According to the Cherokee Raven Hail, a professional folksinger and lecturer, "There are no organized efforts to gather Indians together. The churches are the only ones that make any effort." It seems to be largely true that the churches have been the main institutional force helping to nucleate the Dallas-Fort Worth Indian community. The Indian club has also been a center of meeting,including the Dance Club and the Dinner Club in Dallas. Sports clubs are also a focal point for Indian culture. On an informal level, several bars also act as gathering-places.

At the present time a movement is underway in Dallas for the establishment of an Indian center as a focal point in urban Indian life. The concept of the center is very different from the concept many of us held in the past. It is that of an Indian-managed non-sectarian meeting place where there can be adequate communication within the Indian

community. It seems to be a substitute for the residential center which most ethnic groups enjoy. LaDonna Harris commented, "I used to reject the idea of Indian centers as segregation, but I have come to accept their importance as a social outlet and a gathering place for the Indian community."

Cultural pluralism in Dallas urban Indian society operates along two lines: that of activities involving more instrumental, common economic relationships to the urban area, and that involving more personal, communal and recreative relationships to the city. Most of the Indian people whom I have met sincerely want assimilation into the general and more formal socio-economic aspects of civic life, but are uncomfortable in the more intimate primary relationships of non-Indian urban life.

Several of those whom I knew in Dallas indicated an awareness of the possibility of indoctrination in urban ways through the channel of Indian conversation. This was one persistent reason for wanting an Indian center. As one Indian man said, "The Indian needs indoctrination on how to keep climbing, how not to say on the same job. He doesn't know how to communicate. The Indian doesn't have too much ambition. He needs to be told." Another Indian person said: "An educational center is important mainly for information. We ourselves should have information. There must be some way of getting information around but it is not possible without much knowledge." The knowledge she was speaking about here was the necessary knowledge of which Indians to give information to in the Dallas area, since there is no really central meeting-place. The greatest deficiency of the Indian conversational system of sharing

information is that the individual can never get any information that is more accurate than that possessed by his best-informed friend. In the city much of the information needed for outright decisions is highly technical in nature and would not be obtainable by the average person. This is especially true if an individual's circle of friends is limited to others like himself. This difficulty was very evident among Dallas-Fort Worth Indian people. Communication with agencies was especially difficult because these agencies depended upon impersonal channels of communication. To the Indian, this is not only ineffective but often insulting. The head of a branch Social Security office in West Dallas recently said: "I estimate, and it is only an estimate, that there are about 250 Indians in my area (poverty area). I haven't found the central point where I can go to someone and get things done." The same difficulty became evident in reports from the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Communicative rigidity on both sides was evidenced by the fact that agencies and civic groups recently avoided the urban Indian hearings held in Dallas. Although they were held a block from the Texas Baptist Convention offices, no one attended. Agencies do not typically depend upon informal conversation to contact their clients, and Indians do not find help through such cold, formal channels.

There is also a breakdown in communication among Indians in the area largely because of a lack of common contacts or a functional Indian center. One woman who does volunteer work through her Indian church said, "The large families need to be helped to find some way to help themselves. They are so talented but they never have any way to show that talent. They need to rebel -- to tell how they really feel ..

in their hearts." A lady who had not been so out-going in her contacts with urban Indian people said:

> I have learned more in these (urban Indian) hearings than I have in more than ten years of living here. I feel that there is a real communication gap. We need personal contact. The leaders of the Indian community who have an average or above-average income need to help reach the poor.

The Function of the "Go-Between"

The Indian community has developed a system of go-betweens to bridge the "gap" between the community agencies and themselves. These are people who have become acquainted by one means or another with a certain agency and who are well-respected by those in the Indian community. In the eyes of the agency they are outstanding Indian individuals who are usually seen as different from most other Indians. As a matter of fact, they tend to be of real value within the Indian community and are viewed as friends who are able to get something done in a certain area. They are good counselors and contacts and they usually have other functions in the Indian community as well. Mr. Canard, Sunday School Superintendent of Singleton Indian Baptist Chapel, performs this function with the Dallas Association of Southern Baptists and with the sponsoring church, Beverly Hills. Mrs. Edwards, a member of the Inter-denominational Church, has this relationship to a group of businessmen's wives. The Reverend Bob, an accountant, is sometimes a go-between for employers whose accounts he keeps. Vance Tahmahkera is a go-between with the Forth Worth Chamber of Commerce; this role has been extended to include many civic and business groups. For example, Tahmahkera often presents dignitaries of the Texas Oil Company with war bonnets and feels free to call on them when a friend is out of a job. The list of go-betweens

could be lengthened but these examples serve to show the pattern.

For the urban Indian this go-between arrangement is satisfactory if communication within the Indian community is good enough since it solves their need for dependable information. This pattern holds one pitfall for the agency, although perhaps not a serious one. I refer to the presence of the Indian version of the confidence man. One such con man exists in the _____ area. He claims to represent Indians. He is a _____ minister but he has lost the trust of Indians. Under the pretext of helping others he is able to make a substantial income. Part of his style involves the criticism of his race and culture to non-Indians -- definitely not a distinguishing characteristic of the true go-between.

Person-Orientation versus Object-Orientation

For the most part the migrating Indian was forced to leave his family and friends in Indian country and come to the city under economic pressure, not by an abstract desire to "better himself". He is interested in the primary group to which he now belongs in the city and in keeping some contact at home. Usually the other relationships at work, in the neighborhood, or in school are enjoyed but are not as important to contentment. This does not mean that he does not have ambition but it does mean that the ambition is to provide for primary relationships with other Indians. I can't remember having met any "organization men" among Indians who are part of the Indian community. Instead, the more common trend is to work to attain a comfortable living and then to utilize these added resources to obtain better relationships with the Indian community. A generous person is still more respected among Indians than a wealthy person. Herbert Gans

has remarked that person-oriented people lose interest and become selfish when forced to work together; their primary orientation is toward interpersonal ratings and rankings; this orientation is interfered with by object-oriented people attempting to coerce them in the direction of common goals and accomplishments. A participant in the recent urban Indian hearings in Dallas stated:

> Getting Indians together is hard. When you say "Let's get together", the first thing they think is "What do I get out of it?" They think that you have to do something to get something. One group ends up doing everything and the others criticize them behind their backs. The people don't want to follow. I don't know what it is.

David Benham says that the problem is one of well-developed individuality, and according to Herbert Gans, he was perfectly correct. In the person-oriented society the individual must look for his individuality through his relationships with others. Any activity demanding organization that tends to rank individuals also tends to place most of them in a subservient position. To the object-oriented person this doesn't matter so long as it will help him toward his goal or the common goal, but to the person-oriented individual it matters a great deal. Obviously, the best way to work together is to reassure each Indian individual of his own value and to seek a consensus in making decisions. Most successful Indian organizations appear to work in this manner.

Realizing the importance of informal conversation with its implied reference to Indian-style interpersonal relationships, it becomes obvious that if non-Indians wish to help urban Indians they must take different styles of communication into account. Everything possible should be done to remove communication obstacles and to provide the right

kind of training and situation for development of go-betweens, communication models, and mutual assistance given in an atmosphere of consensus. Learning how to "talk Indian" (in effect, to use the cultural content, inflection, and manner of Indian languages effectively) is advisable for those who come into constant contact with the urban Indian community. At base the fundamental need of what may appear to the outsider as random and trivial Indian conversation is personal security and the effective identification of others as friends or threats. This is a perfectly reasonable approach for adapting tribal people with strongly Indian, person-oriented styles.

Attitudes Toward Schooling

Many Indians in the urban center seem to desire their children to be educated in the public schools rather than in the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. Mr. Tahmahkera stated as leader of the older Indian population in Fort Worth:

> The Indian schools are a hindrance because they keep the Indian students apart from other races. I went to public schools all my life. I was the only Indian in school. While I was in school, I didn't take part in Indian dances or anything like that. I had no trouble getting along (with white people).

All of the Indian people I talked to about this matter seemed to prefer that their children go to public schools, at least through high school. They seemed to look upon the schools as strictly educational institutions which could give their children the best possible preparation for employment. None seemed to see the schools as acculturating institutions except in the sense that they would expose the children to a more complicated pluralistic society. The hope was that the children would learn to live better with other peoples. The desire of the parents for

their children to learn Indianness does not seem to color their thinking in regard to the schools. This was illustrated in some statements made by Murray Rhodes during the recent urban Indian hearings: "I don't think my kids are aware of being Indian, but I think they will learn." The question was then asked, "What do you want for your children?" Mr. Rhodes answered, "An education, and I want to relay to them what I have experienced." An insufficient indication was made of what Mr. Rhodes experienced but from the general context of his conversation it apppears that he was making a clear distinction between his desire for a formal education for his children, and his intention to relay Indian values to his children.

Despite the strong emphasis of Indian parents upon public and pluralistic education for their children, many seem to desire their children's admission to BIA trade schools after graduation from high school. The demands for this "right" were most persistent. The reasons for this desire appear to be largely economic: however, they also seem to be an expression of interest in all-Indian surroundings when marriage choices and other lasting primary relationships are being made. The government school furnishes a good chance to do this within Indian circles. I know several students at Haskell Institute who told me that they wanted to come to Haskell to learn about their own people because they had lived among non-Indians earlier. In short, Indian parents may want their children to attend Indian trade schools for the same reasons that other parents might send their children to attend a denominational college. They want them to be brought into contact with other young people like themselves.

In other matters, most Dallas Indian parents seem to prefer that their children involve themselves with other Indians as much as possible in affective relationships. One Indian parent said: "In recreation we have Indian basketball teams and softball teams. We also have Indian churches." These activities are largely primary relationships of a communal type and are specified as "Indian" activities as often as possible. More secondary relationships, such as participation in the PTA and the Dads' Clubs of the PTA, may be inter-ethnic but are not regarded as primary relationship settings. One Indian woman said in this regard: "White men don't know how we have been raised, and how we are trying to raise our children."

Housing for Indians in Dallas

The Indians of Dallas, unlike many minority groups, do not seem to desire to live in one particular neighborhood after they have become accustomed to the city. Instead they seem to move into locales which meet their own tastes and economic capacities. This does not mean that there is an avoidance of close living with other Indians, for often two or three families buy homes within a short distance of each other. This sort of proximity factor in home purchase seems to be a secondary consideration. It is possible that their attitudes have become urban enough to feel that they will not necessarily look to the neighborhood for primary relationships. In housing matters, racial prejudice does not seem to be a problem for urban Indians in Dallas.

Mr. Beams of the BIA said: "We have no difficulty in housing. An Indian can live anywhere that he can afford the price." This seemed to be the consensus of opinion among the Indians themselves. The homes

of those who had economic security were in pleasant and well-kept neighborhoods. Surprisingly, the only persons who mentioned prejudice against Indians in housing were white people who were interested in Indians. One case involved alleged refusal to rent a low-cost unit to an Indian family and the other two were generalizations by ministers who felt that there was prejudice. There is probably some prejudice but it is probably not enough to prevent Indians from living in any neighborhood that they really desire to live in if they can afford it. Indians probably have spread themselves over such vast sections of Dallas-Fort Worth because of housing availability within their respective price ranges.

The Employment Experience

In the field of employment most urban Indians in Dallas-Fort Worth seem to be content to become a part of the general economy and to be limited only by their ability to produce. Mr. Beams has stated that there is no discrimination in employment. This appeared to be true for most of the Indian people with whom I talked. Among the younger people who had received training through a BIA project, there seemed to be a real happiness with their employment. (In fact this was the only aspect of their BIA relationships with which they seemed to be totally happy.) Among the older residents there was a real pride in what they had accomplished. Mr. Tahmahkera showed me the commendation he had received upon retirement from the Post Office, and another Indian man actually refused an advancement in the BIA because he was happy with his position in Fort Worth. An Indian machinist was similarly pleased with his trade. Several individuals have found their way into social service agencies: a probation officer for juveniles, a recreation director, a home visitor, and a policeman.

Expectations in employment satisfaction are stymied because of a lack of social or vocational training. The absence of social training is usually the more formidable problem. Most of these Indian people are trying to find ways to improve their training levels. There seems to be the possibility of some exploitation of marginal Indian workers by employers who can use unskilled labor, but in Dallas it is probable that few Indians are so exploited because most have at least some skills. It is therefore possible to state with conviction that the Indian Americans in Dallas are, with some exceptions, allowed to take a fair place in the urban economy and are probably better off generally than local Blacks or Mexican Americans.

Representation of Dallas Indian People to the Larger Urban Society

It appears that Indians generally want to be a part of the civic body of the urban community as a group rather than as individuals. They would like for the community to recognize their culture for its fine qualities and are often willing to serve as representatives from that culture to the white community. Mr. Tahmahkera gave an example of this. Hehad been a member of a local white church before the Fort Worth Indian Mission was organized, but he had not spoken up very much because "They might think I was just complaining." However, when he was asked by some of the local white churches to speak about Indian churches he was willing to do so and became so popular as a speaker in various churches that the appointments began to interfere with his work. Later he had to limit his speaking activities. This man felt reluctant to participate as an Indian individual in a small discussion group in his home church, but he felt quite competent to speak to strange congregations as an Indian representative. A group of Indians led by this same man took part in a

parade in Fort Worth. The parade was of such importance to the Indians that Mrs. Tahmahkera's mother brought the headdress of Quanah Parker, last of the Comanche warchiefs and an ancestor of Mr. Tahmahkera. He wore the headdress in the parade. This same group performs at half-time for the professional football team, the Fort Worth Braves. This appears to be an attempt to make Indian culture a part of the symbolic activities of the general community. In fort Worth they have been accepted in this spirit and both community and Indians have benefited. The Indians of Fort Worth seem to be "boosters" of their city. The Chamber of Commerce deserves much of the credit for this involvement of Indian people.

But recently, Vernon Tehauno led an Indian dance group in a dedication program for a new public building. After the performance, he was taken to meet the mayor of Dallas on the platform, but the mayor turned his back instead of receiving him. This caused a cynical response in Tehauno and several of the other performers, all of whom had offered their services as Indian citizens of Dallas and yet were treated as objects fit only to entertain. Many of the Indians do become frustrated in their attempts to escape stereotypes and to become accepted members of the urban community while maintaining their Indian identity.

The Indian Church

The most common Indian organization in Dallas is the Indian church. Organizationally this may be a mission (usually that of some local white church), but since I see no clear differences in the nature of "church" versus "mission", I will refer to both as "church" in these notes. In Dallas, and to the best of my knowledge in other cities as well, the Indian churches are indigenous. They were typically begun soon after the first relocatees began arriving in the cities. In the case of Dallas, the churches started with the arrival of those Oklahoma Indians who have had a long heritage of churchmanship. The Reverend David Benham says that he has not known of a Dallas Indian church starting without the participation of Creek or Choctaw members. Benham attributes this apparent fact to the Creek and Choctaw histories of church membership and to their abilities in organization. This coincides with my own experience, but I would add that the Kiowa were the first Plains tribe to have Baptist churches.

Remembering that these people were newcomers to the city, making a start near the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, it is understandable that they made their religious beginnings within the standards of the churches they knew best. In the case of the Oklahomans this was done, for the most part, through the Oklahoma Indian Church. The churches these people had known were rural in most cases, with a minister who helped support himself through various secular activities.

These Oklahoma Indian churches had traditions of strong fellowship and fierce independence. Often the tribal language was used in singing, preaching, or both. Since these churches had an extended history, the older Indian generation usually carried out most of the leadership roles. However, the people who came to the city on relocation were usually young adults who had not been among the leadership of the church. These young adults were required to form a new leadership in the urban setting based upon what they remembered from their home-bound religious experiences.

Singleton Indian Baptist Chapel is probably typical of such an urban Indian church. From stories told me by charter members, by the pastor of the sponsoring church, and by the missionary, I have pieced together a fairly clear history of the beginnings of this urban Indian church. An Indian informant stated that the church was started by Willis Knight, who conducted services (usually full) in a rented house within walking distance of Indian residents. The Reverend Ralph Bacon, Superintendent of Missions in the Dallas Association, concurs: "Willis Knight did a good job. He would have 103 in Sunday School for preaching and the same number at night."

This early pattern seems to have been typical during the development periods of most urban Indian churches. It appeared to be true in Oakland, California, where we met in a rented lodge hall. In San Francisco, about seventy people met in the home of the Reverend George Smith. In Wichita, the same number met in the two-bedroom apartment of Mr. and Mrs. Edmond Harjo. These people moved their

furniture outside for the Sunday services, making room, as Willis Knight must have done, for large numbers of Indian worshippers. Members of these early urban Indian churches felt a closeness that stemmed both from being distant from their homes and friends and from engaging in services which they felt to be close to the Christian tradition.

In discussing the beginnings of urban Indian churches, one exception should be noted. The Fort Worth Baptist Indian Mission is that exception. An unidentified employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Dallas called the then-director of the Goodwill Center in Fort Worth to ask if the center could work with Indians in the city. This person decided to contact an Indian student about the possibility of starting a mission, and eventually one was organized.

Non-Denominationalism and Pan-Indianness

In the midwestern part of the country the Indian Methodist Conference began to include such groups in its membership. (On the West Coast, Methodists have had difficulty organizing due to the lack of a properly inclusive conference policy.) Many of these emerging Indian churches are non-denominational in character. Recently the Reverend Buford Bob, a Choctaw accountant who had been a Methodist minister in Oklahoma, stated that "Indians were coming from different denominational backgrounds to Dallas, so we reached many without joining a denomination. This does not mean that I am against denominations; they are doing good." The Indian Trinity River Church (located in West Dallas in the same general area as Singleton Baptist) includes Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Methodists, and others in its membership, according to one member. The main concern of the church

is to work with newcomers to the city. (There is possibly an Indian Assembly of God church in Dallas but I was not able to locate it.)

As the urban Indian churches continue to grow they encounter several turning points. One of the most important decisions around which the churches have developed is linked to the question of pan-Indianism. Decisions have to be made as to which tribes are to be reached, but usually it is planned from the beginning to reach all tribes in the city. There have been a few tribal churches, but these usually do not have a large enough supply of potential members to ensure continued existence. This multi-tribal membership has some interesting results: in the churches where I have been pastor, for example, there were several different tribal traditions of churchmanship. In order to have services together there have had to be compromises on most aspects of the church program. There is a surprising similarity in most of these urban Indian churches.

Financing the Urban Indian Church

The responsibilities of carrying on the business of the urban Indian churches caused problems in adjustment. Most congregations felt that a church building was needed in order to carry out their work even though little experience with the complicated financing and maintenance of buildings was present. The Methodist Conference has been able to get unused buildings from white congregations, and the Fort Worth Indian Baptist Church acquired a building left by a white congregation in the wake of population shifts. Singleton Baptist Chapel bought a building which was fairly close to their people but which later became a definite liability. Sometimes, as in Wichita, the leadership caused

the churches to go into debt so deeply that the congregation felt unable and unwilling to cope with the problems. In other cases, such as San Francisco, the leadership was too cautious in financial matters and caused stalemates in church development to occur. The whole matter of financing for urban Indian churches needs further study.

The Nature of Urban Indian Church Fellowship

In a very real sense the urban Indian church is a fellowship. There is a strong sense of close personal relationships among the members including both those who attend regularly and many who do not. A great deal of fellowship often extends to those who may never become members. Part of this identification and belongingness is a carry-over from the nature of Indian churches in Indian lands, particularly Oklahoma. These churches were the center of social and religious life; preachers were often important in tribal life as well. In the urban areas there is the added element of a substitute for the close ties of the migrant to his nuclear family. On coming to the city the Indian migrant has often had to break away from his family and Indian churches have attempted to fill this gap. The migrant can be himself and find people who understand him in the Indian church context. It is common to find that urban Indian churches have fellowship dinners once a month, and while this frequency usually diminishes as the years go by, it is still preserved as a permanent part of the church program. An example of the fellowship meetings came to me from Mr. Winston Shoemaker of the Fort Worth Indian Baptist Mission:

> During the summer we had fellowship in the home every week, and people who do not come to the mission still ask if we are going to do it again. Once a month would be

> good, but once a week got to be too much. Now the fellowships and parties are for special occasions. Besides the class parties there is a Church Anniversary party, a Thanksgiving dinner, and a Christmas party. The Brotherhood has a breakfast at the church on All Church Clean-up Day and everyone works at the church.

The Indian churches of the San Francisco Bay area also have a retreat on Labor Day weekend each year while Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas Indian churches send large delegations to Indian Falls Creek Assembly in Davis, Oklahoma. The urban Indian church tends to become an extended family substitute which supplies the social needs of the Indian community with which it is in contact. Mr. Shoemaker put it this way: "When you are discouraged someone encourages you. We all have the same goal. The students may only be here ten to fourteen months, then they may never be this close to a church again. We must win them here." Note that the fellowship of the church is interrelated with an evangelistic intent toward unenlisted groups of Indians.

The Indian Methodist Church of Dallas is very much involved in a fellowship of its people. I attended a powwow one Saturday night, a worship service on Sunday, and a basketball game on Monday to find the same central core of Indian people with additional persons each night who were interested in a particular activity. On Thursday and Friday I attended hearings in the courthouse and found many of the same people. This fellowship cut across tribal lines and to some extent across age lines. The pastor, Reverend Oliver Neal, recognized the importance of this fellowship and supported it with the words: "We are a social people." David Benham of the Fort Worth Baptist Mission said:

> The church may be a family substitute in the city. I know this about our church. This is where their friends are. Our people may know many other Indian people but it is to church members they will tell their desires, share their burdens, and really act close.

This fellowship with its endless potluck dinners must often look quaint and inefficient to the outsider. It is the main asset of the urban Indian church, however. It is the one important element that the non-Indian church has often been unable to provide. Fellowship is the basic identification and interaction phenomenon of the urban Indian church without which it would be functionless.

There are certain practical difficulties to fellowship and to the growth of urban Indian churches. There is an apparent limit to the size of a group where intimate relationships can be maintained. Past that size, and I will take the arbitrary number of one hundred as a practical maximum, there are simply too many relationships to continue. Although I have no proof, I think that the size factor has limited the growth of Indian churches in the cities. A city church has to provide a pastor, a building, and operating expenses if it is to be self-supporting and effective in carrying out its work. Any church must also have the ability to reach a few new people now and then or it will become stagnated in several respects. These are real problems and need to be faced by the urban Indian church.

The American Indian Baptist Church of Oakland, California under the leadership of Wade Robertson has helped solve the problem by the establishment of missions using core personnel as organizational

nuclei. New mission memberships are then included in the membership of the central church. This gives rise to a cohesive extended group, and allows for adequate financial support in the context of manageable group sizes. It also allows core personnel to serve in socially remote neighborhoods without being cut off from the family church.

Another problem concerning the fellowship has to do with age and peer groups. As I have noted, many of the churches began with Indians who came to the city at approximately the same time and were therefore approximately of the same ages. In most of these cases at least ten years have passed since migration. There have been many Indian additions to the city but the original group may be essentially the same as before. Many of the original group have moved to the suburbs, and all are older with children now in their teens. Their churches reflect these changes. But each year new Indians are entering the city, many of them younger than the original group at the time of their migration. According to Dr. Beams of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Dallas, seventy percent of these migrating Indians are coming as students in the city's trade schools, and the other thirty percent includes recent graduates from schools such as Haskell. Since Indians tend to stay rather close to their families or their peer groups a real gulf develops between the newcomers and the older Indian churchmembers. This gulf will probably close somewhat within a few years as the newcomers become more city-wise and begin families, but that does not detract from the loneliness and frustration of the adjustment period.

Expectations of Change

The urban Indian church reflects the excitement and potential of the city by promoting an expectation of major changes in the lives of

migrating Indians. Throughout my ministry in these churches, I have been impressed with this rather awesome trait. It may be that this expectation of change is present in some degree in all churches serving urban migrants, but I simply do not know if this is the case. Many urban Indians feel that the church where they belong is their single chance for effective adaptation in life itself. A Seminole summed it up in his testimony before his church: "Since I accepted Christ, I know that this is the place to be. If I had not accepted Christ, I don't know where I'd bee." Another man testified:

> I accepted Christ at home (Oklahoma) when I was twenty-one. It was when they were having vacation Bible school. They always had revivals at night at the same time. I didn't do much for the Lord until I came to the mission. I was baptized here. I could do more work then. I didn't realize that I could be standing here as a leader. I have learned many things since I became a leader here.

There are also effects on the lives of others who have been objects of group concern for urban Indian church members. This story was told to me of a woman who was a faithful member of her church but who was mistreated by her drinking husband:

> The members of the church helped her with food and other necessities. The family returned to their home state. Last October they returned for a visit. This time the husband was a different person. He was a Sunday School teacher in his home church. He testified to the mission that the change had come about because his wife had accepted Christ at the mission. He said that at the time he didn't know how badly he had been treating here but that he had come to realize it.

Informality, Discipline, and Style of Church Services

Services in the Indian church reflect the fellowship nature of the church. There is usually an air of informality. Of course this may

range from the downright disorderly to a subtle feeling of interpersonal warmth. In Dallas-Fort Worth I found rather good order but services which were more informal than I found elsewhere. There have been changes in at least some of the churches where discipline and style are concerned. From a local pastor who held a revival in the early life of his Indian church came this story:

> I held a revival in the mission. The children were very undisciplined. A big Indian had a boy about four years old with him. The boy just started walking around during my sermon. He started down the aisle toward me. The man called out, "Boy, come here." The boy kept coming and the man called out again, "Boy, I said come here." I stopped the sermon and told him that we must have more reverence.

Compare this to an incident in the same church during the time I visited it. At the beginning of the worship service the pastor began with "God Has Blessed Us." He then proceeded to compliment the mission on the attendance, the offering, and the quietness of the children. I learned that the Wednesday before he had mentioned to the parents in a prayer service that there was a need for more order by the children. The results were almost instantly apparent. The urban Indian church appears to adjust itself over time to meet the expectations of a gradually acculturating membership. I have noticed that these changes can also take place very rapidly when there is a consensus that these changes should occur.

For the most part the order of services is very similar to that which a white church of the same denomination would follow. There does appear to be more congregational singing; in the churches I attended it was not unusual to put together a group for a musical number right on the

spot, although there was also special music carefully planned in advance. Most urban Indian churches sing tribal hymns at least occasionally.

In Dallas-Fort Worth all of the churches that I attended were pastored by trained men. The sermons were up to the standards of the ordinary church or above; in fact, the entire service was often above the average of churches of comparable size. I also attended both Sunday School classes and Training Union and found that the leadership was very good. There is still plenty of room for trained leadership but I could see no extraordinary problems on a comparative basis with average congregations.

The Urban Indian Church and Residential Patterns

The scattering of Indians throughout the city and the urban-Indian country mobility of many of the people are very real problems. But often newly arrived families have settled in one area of the city. This residential pattern appears to be a result of choice and the housing policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Most of the Indian people in Dallas were originally settled in a public housing area in West Dallas. From Indians in this area Singleton Baptist Chapel was begun. Of ten families chosen at random from the church rolls, seven lived in the housing project. Of these seven six had moved, leaving only one family of the original group. The others had been replaced by Negro and Spanish-American families. None of the persons in my sampling who were marked inactive in church affairs still lived in the project.

As conditions change, urban Indian families move to new, often better, places. The Bureau of Indian Affairs also changes the location of homes for newcomers in an attempt to find better housing. This makes the

location of the right place for an Indian church most difficult. The pastor of Singleton Baptist Chapel wanted to relocate the church in the Oak Cliff area while the pastor of the Indian Methodist Church in the Oak Cliff area was wondering about the advisability of relocating in East Dallas! The problem seems to be without solution. The best that can be done is to find a place that is accessible from all areas and to locate there if possible.

The problems caused by populational scattering are borne by the pastor. The Reverend David Benham is probably typical in this matter. He pastored while a seminary student and therefore did not travel as much as a full-time worker. Nevertheless, he averaged 2200 miles per month in his pastoral duties; the costs ran about $135 per month including a payment of $71 for his VW Microbus. The mission allows him $20 per month for this expense.

> I made two visits and travelled sixty miles. You might call it one visit. One of my members had just brought her new baby home. I went to visit her and found that she did not have a sterilizer, so I came home to get one and returned it to her.

Travel expense is a major problem to the pastor of an urban Indian church. It often eats up the small salary which the church is able to pay him. If the problems of the urban Indian pastor are to be appreciated, these cost and distance factors must be taken into account.

There are related problems for church members. The Shoemakers live seventeen miles north of the church, yet they are involved in church activities nearly every evening. The modern freeway system makes this possible so far as time is concerned but there is a financial sacrifice

involved. A related problem is that of transporting people to services. Many of those who are the most difficult to enlist are those who do not have, or cannot efficiently use, their own cars. This would include the newcomer who usually does not have a car of his own or who may be confused by the complications of city driving and locations if he does. The children and wives of disinterested Indian parents or husbands also have difficulty reaching church activities. If the church is to have an outreaching ministry, it must have some system of transportation. So far sharing of rides is the most common form of transportation. On one recent day at the Fort Worth Indian Baptist Mission about one-fifth of the congregation came to church in other members' cars. Of the Indians who arrived in this manner all were the lone representatives of their tribes in the congregation. Although this is too limited a case upon which to base conclusions there may be an indication that marginal groups will be brought to the urban Indian church through provisions of this sort. If transportation to other services is unavailable, membership may suffer or intertribal representation may shrink.

Singleton Baptist Chapel on the other hand has used a schoolbus for several years. It was apparently effective while most of the membership and prospective membership were concentrated in the housing project only three miles away. When the Indian population shifted to other sections of Dallas the bus became too large and slow. It has now been sold and the church is planning to buy two microbus-style vehicles. One is to be used in the West Dallas housing project, and the other in the East Dallas area to reach the young people there. The Indian Methodist Mission is raising money to buy a similar bus to help reach the young people in East Dallas.

An Example of Urban Indian Church Budgeting

The financial condition of the urban Indian church seems to have grown much stronger in the past several years. This may be directly connected to the increasing urbanization of the membership. Until at least ten years ago the Indian churches of Oklahoma were very weak in the area of giving. They may still be so. Many of the early relocatees had come from churches which did not encourage tithing (indeed, a few actively discouraged it). Financial campaigns were frowned upon. While these conditions caused chronic low-income problems for newly-founded urban Indian churches in the beginning, the picture seems to have changed, at least in Dallas. I have the most complete information on the Singleton Church. The membership has adopted their first budget for about $7000 per year. The budgetary breakdown is as follows:

$1800 for the pastor's salary;

$2600 for property;

$210 for utilities;

$273 for missions;

$1080 for transportation;

$300 for revival;

$100 for WMU;

$300 for youth work.

According to Pastor Don Crum, "I think we will have to raise it (the budget) because we are going over it every week." The sponsoring church is also contributing $50 per month and the Association $50. This is not a great income but it is enough to enhance the possibilities of survival and growth.

In the Fort Worth Baptist Mission I noted that on February 9, 1969 there were forty-one present in Sunday School. This group provided an offering of $118.34. This did not include the contributions during the morning and evening worship services. Reverend Burton Bob, speaking of his inter-denominational church, was proud of the fact that "Indians are buying the building at $155 per month."

There will probably never be a large income in urban Indian churches because of several continuously-faced hardships, among which are the scattering of the congregation and the need for toleration of large numbers of newcomers living at beginner's wages. However, I have been pleased and a bit surprised that there was a good enough financial base to support growing work. There is no doubt that outside funding should be found to ease the burdens of transportation for pastors.

Tribal Pluralism and Church Structure

Since the urban Indian church is made up of different tribes, it is faced with the problems of tribal pluralism. Similarly, the fact of urban existence raises the spectre of traditionalism versus progressivism. Both of these elements of pluralism are evidenced in the very organization of the urban Indian churches. New churches are especially proud to be identified as places where urban Indians can go. The Baptist churches in Dallas-Fort Worth have joined the associations which are present in their particular areas. This is also true of the Indian churches in the San Francisco Bay area, some of the churches in Los Angeles, and those in Kansas. As associational members they are constrained to meet the standards of the association. Sometimes conflict may emerge, especially when other associational members try to fit new urban Indian churches into a stereotype of non-progressive Indians. The new churches may either isolate themselves or try to prove that they are worthy of acceptance. The last category may be sought after through attempts to excel in every program engaged in by the association.

From experience in pastoring a small church I know that this may be very frustrating. In Fort Worth I noticed a very good relationship with the association. I was invited to attend the Training Union awards banquet with the members of the mission. There were nine mission members present. As they entered the banquet hall they greeted and were greeted by members of other churches. Although the mission members sat at one table they carried on a conversation with others also seated according to church membership. These Indian church members felt they were a real part of the association. The Dallas association has done much more for the financial welfare of the Indian church, and the

officials are very well-informed and concerned for the mission. The mission does not give funds to the association nor is it represented at associational meetings. It is possible that the mission members do not feel they are adding to the program of the association. I do not know how these assumptions came about, although some guesses are possible.

My suggestion to a church dealing with an urban Indian mission would be the following: work through a mission's committee as with any other mission, but assign one respected member of that committee to take special interest in the mission. This person should take the time to really communicate with the mission. This means that he should occasionally attend services, that he should know the main leadership of the mission personally, that he should be aware of the goals of the membership, and that he should realize their successes as well as their difficulties. This person should then be able to communicate the actual situation of the mission to the committee of his church and he should be able to act as go-between from one side to the other. To most Indian people the person who is known to be a friend is a much more tolerable bearer of tidings (both good and evil) than others.[2]

Indian Churches and Multi-Ethnic Membership Potentials

Another problem of pluralism is related to the concept of mission itself. Due to the nature of the congregation the church building is usually located in a place where the majority of the population is non-Indian. At least to Baptists the missionary appeal is to cross racial lines to reach those closest to the church. But the mission was

[2] This situation exists between Haskell Baptist Mission and the First Southern Baptist Church of Lawrence, Kansas at the present time.

organized because a uniquely Indian church was needed to enlist unchurched Indians. Church leaders and others have been confused over the question of multi-ethnic membership in essentially Indian churches, especially because they recognize that while Indians do not want segregation they still do not feel really confortable in intimate association with a non-Indian institution.

Fort Worth Indian Baptist Church is located in a Negro section of the city. Last year the membership decided to hold a Vacation Bible School for the neighborhood children. They had already held a school for their own children. Since most of the women in the church work, both Bible schools were held in the evening from six o'clock to eight-thirty. The youth of the mission had distributed handbills through the neighborhood on Sunday afternoon but only one child came on Monday evening. The faculty was very disappointed but the Sunday School superintendent decided to have everyone visit door-to-door that evening. They found that they were warmly received and that the parents were eager to have their children attend. By the end of the week they had enrolled over one hundred children with twenty-two in the intermediate (teenage) department. Although there was only one teacher for this department, she found the children to be very well disciplined -- indeed, "Better than white or Indian kids." On Sunday most of the children went to one of the four churches in the immediate neighborhood. If they become aware of the problems involved, associational workers might help the Indian churches by opening ways for them to participate with other ethnic groups in projects similar to the one just described. If it is sincere, encouragement that there is a place for the uniquely ethnic church could

also help. Although I feel that the all-Indian urban church is worthwhile and seems to be reaching more Indians than are enlisted through all the other churches, the fact remains that they are not reaching a large proportion of the total population. Only a small fraction of the eight thousand Indians in the Dallas area are actually participating. In fact, the congregations which I visited were well under one hundred people each. It is probable that more all-Indian and mixed churches are needed. The churches are admittedly quite ineffective in reaching the young Indian newcomers. As my experience in these areas grows, I hope to develop plans for cooperation between white and Indian churches for reaching this category of young people.